Message Text

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FOR CHARGE ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINR, ZA, SF, UNSC

SUBJECT: ZAMBIAN COMPLAINT IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

REF: STATE 187111

- 1. YOU SHOULD PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
- 2. AS PRESIDENT KAUNDA IS AWARE FROM OUR LAST COMMUNICATION I HAVE BEEN CONCERNED BY THE EFFECT THE PRESENT SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE COULD HAVE ON EFFORTS TO RESOLVE SOUTHERN AFRICA'S OVERALL PROBLEMS. I HAVE CLOSELY FOLLOWED THE COURSE OF THE DEBATES IN THE COUNCIL. THE RESOLUTION WHICH EMERGED IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL SO VEHEMENTLY ATTACKED THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THAT I HAD TO CONCLUDE THAT, HAD

THE UNITED STATES ASSOCIATED ITSELF WITH IT, THE DIPLOMATIC PROCESS CURRENTLY UNDER WAY WOULD HAVE BEEN IMPAIRED. SECRET

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3. DESPITE THE OUTCOME OF THE SESSION, I APPRECIATED PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S EARLIER MESSAGE AND THE SPIRIT IN WHICH IT WAS SENT. I ALSO ADMIRED THE TACT AND SKILL HIS FOREIGN

MINISTER SHOWED IN TRYING TO RESOLVE A COMPLICATED PARLIAMENTARY PROBLEM

- 4. PRESIDENT KAUNDA KNOWS THE DEPTH OF THE UNITED STATES OPPOSITION TO SOUTH AFRICA'S INCURSION INTO HIS COUNTRY AND THE DEGREE TO WHICH WE SYMPATHIZE WITH THE EXTRAORDINARY HARDSHIPS HIS COUNTRY AND PEOPLE HAVE SUFFERED. AS WE HAVE ALREADY TOLD PRESIDENT KAUNDA, IT IS OUR FIRM JUDGMENT THAT THE REASONS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY ACTIVITY CAN BE REMOVED WITH NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE. IT IS TOWARDS THAT GOAL THAT WE ARE BENDING EVERY EFFORT. WE HAVE AT THE SAME TIME MADE VERY CLEAR TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS HOW DANGEROUS MILITARY ACTION OF THIS SORT CAN BE. WE BELIEVE OUR MESSAGE HAS REGISTERED ITS DESIRED EFFECT.
- 5. IN THE UNITED NATIONS WE MADE EVERY EFFORT TO COOPERATE IN PREPARING A RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD NOT JEOPARDIZE OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. WE WERE EVEN PREPARED TO JOIN A CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF THE RESOLUTION FINALLY ADOPTED, EVEN THOUGH WE HAD DIFFICULTY WITH THE TONE OF THE RESOLUTION, THE CHARACTERIZATIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE FACT THAT NO ENCOURAGEMENT WAS GIVEN TO PRESENT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS. THE DECISION TO SEEK A RECORDED VOTE, APPARENTLY SOUGHT BY THOSE LESS INTERESTED IN PROGRESS ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS THAN IN RHETORIC, LEFT US NO CHOICE BUT TO ABSTAIN.
- 6. OUR ABSTENTION BY NO MEANS IMPLIES ANY APPROVAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN ACTION. IT IS SIMPLY DESIGNED TO PROTECT OUR POSITION AS AN INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN THE SEVERAL PARTIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. HAD WE VOTED FOR THE PRESENT RESOLUTION AND ITS HARSH AND STRIDENT CHARACTERIZATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, WE WOULD HAVE DAMAGED OUR ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND THEREBY JEOPARDIZED THE OPPORTUNITY WE SEE TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA.

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7. THE COMING WEEKS MAY, IN MY JUDGMENT, BE DECISIVE IN THIS REGARD. WE INTEND VIGOROUSLY TO PROCEED ON OUR COURSE AND I HOPE TO CONTINUE TO WORK VERY CLOSELY WITH THE PRESIDENT WITH A VIEW TO ELIMINATING THE CAUSES OF ARMED CONFLICT WHICH HAVE LED TO THE CURRENT TRAGIC SITUATION ON ZAMBIA'S BORDERS. I ASK THAT PRESIDENT KAUNDA BEAR WITH US AND ACCEPT OUR REASONS FOR ABSTAINING IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

KISSINGER			
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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

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